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## ON THE APOCALYPSE OF MOSES.

It is almost certain that in this Apocalypse we have one of those Jewish apocryphs which, like the Book of Enoch, exercised a formative influence upon the earliest Christianity. For two ideas are prominent in it which have been perpetuated in the younger religion, namely, that of baptism by trine immersion after repentance and forgiveness of sins, and that of the resurrection in the flesh and restoration to the Garden of Eden of the descendants of Adam. The former of these two ideas is conveyed in ch. xxxvii., the latter in chs. xxviii., xxxvii., xxxix. and xliii.

The following text of the Apocryph is translated from the ancient Armenian Version, which in turn seems to have been made not from a Greek, but from a Syriac or Ethiopic, or even Arabic text. Thus in ch. xxix. the words "nard" and "cinnamon" are explained respectively as "phajlaseni" and "daraseni," and these synonyms are perhaps Arabic terms, though one of them occurs once in Ethiopic literature, probably as a transliteration. The frequent Syriacisms, however, strongly suggest a Syriac original. The date of the Armenian Version is not easy to assign with any precision, the MS. from which I copied it being as late as the year A.D. 1539. As regards language, however, it is old, and probably anterior to 1000 A.D.; it might even belong to the fifth or sixth century. There is a peculiar use observable in it of the dative for the genitive, which is not characteristic of Armenian in any age, and may, perhaps, reflect the idiom of the language from which the version was made.

The Greek Text was first published by Tischendorf in a volume of Apocrypha, under the title of *Apocalypse of Moses*, from four MSS., of which the earliest belongs to the

eleventh century, and is preserved in the library of Milan. This MS., which only contains the beginning and end of the piece, has been republished more critically by Ceriani. Tischendorf's other three MSS. are equally fragmentary and much later. His Text is, therefore, an eclectic one, and comprises many readings which never stood together in any one Text. The Armenian, however, which I here translate, is both a real Text and an ancient one, as is clear from the way in which it cuts across the Greek codices, following now one and now another. It must, therefore, be taken account of by any one who wishes to get at the Text as it originally stood. I have printed in italics passages which are absent from all the Greek codices, and which may represent either additions due to the Armenian translator and to his archetype, or lacunae in the Greek tradition. Where the sense of the Armenian departs from all the Greek codices alike, or agrees with one of them and not with others, I have often appended a note explanatory of the same.

There is one remarkable variant in the Armenian. In ch. xxxvii. we read in it that Adam is thrice immersed in a sea *not made with hands*, as if the Greek original were *ἀχειροποίητον λίμνην*; but the Greek MSS. have *ἀχέρουσαν λίμνην*. At first glance the Armenian reading seems the better one, for it recalls the temple not made with hands of Mark xiv. 58, and "the house not made with hands which is everlasting in the heavens" of Paul's II. Ep. to Cor. v. 1, and also the *περιτομή ἀχειροποίητος* of Ep. to Col. ii. 11. It is suitable to think of Adam, who has been caught up into the second heaven, as being baptised in a sea or laver not made with hands. On the other hand, the parallels which I have quoted from the *Visio Pauli* make it very likely that the Greek has here retained the original reading, and that the Armenian reflects the brilliant emendation of some Greek scribe who could not allow an Acherusian lake to figure in his conception of heaven.

In the Greek MSS. this piece is entitled "The History

of the life of Adam and Eve, revealed by God to Moses his servant, when he received the tablets of the Law of the Covenant from the Lord's hand, instructed by the archangel Michael." In the Armenian the Apocryph is entitled simply the "Book of Adam," and at the end of it is written in the MS., in the lower margin, this scholium: "Ye should know, brethren, that this history of the first created (πρωτοπλάστων) was revealed at the command of God by Michael, the archangel, to the first prophet, Moses. Glory to God." That this piece of information is relegated in the Armenian to a scholium, whereas in the Greek MSS. it is embodied in the title, makes it probable that it is a late addition in itself, and that the Armenian title, "The Book of Adam," is the true one. It also diminishes the force of Tischendorf's argument, based on the Greek title, that this Apocryph is part of a longer history. There is no internal reason for supposing this to be so, for the Apocryph is, as it stands, a self-contained whole, needing nothing to complete it.

There are several other "books of Adam" in the library of Etschmiadzin, but all of them of a late and trifling description: some of them were versifications of this Apocryph. One of them, contained in an enormous folio for reading in church, is entitled "A History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve, the First-created. How they Fared." This begins with a long and tedious lament uttered by Adam on being expelled from the garden. At the close of it, it is related that Adam and Eve's bodies were laid by Sem (Shem) in his portion, in a place *now* called Shamajtoun, *i.e.*, "the house of Shem." But afterwards they were moved, and Eve's was laid in a cave at Bethlehem, wherein Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, just over Eve's tomb; while Adam's was removed to Golgotha, where Jesus was crucified for our salvation directly over the head of Adam. This latter treatise is, therefore, a Christianised version of our Apocryph; and though I copied the greater portion of it, I do not think it merits to be published.

Prof. Marr, of the University of Petersburg, has printed some portions of the Adam book here translated in an article on Armenian apocryphs, contained in the Transactions (or Bulletin) of the Eastern Section of the Russian Imperial Archæological Society, 1890-91, Vols. V., VI., p. 228. I have made my translation from a photographic copy of the book which I made on the spot. The MS. is a small quarto, well written in double columns. It contains many other apocryphs of a similar nature to this one. Prof. Jajic has lately published an old Slavonic book of Adam, which I have not had an opportunity of comparing with the Greek and Armenian. It would no doubt prove a valuable aid towards the determination of the earliest form of the Text.

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From the MS. No. 1,631 (198*a*-212*a*) of the library of Etschmiadzin, written A.D. 1539 :—

(Ch. i.) A history<sup>1</sup> of the life of Adam and Eva, the first-created, after their expulsion from the garden of delight.

Adam took his wife Eva and went to a place which was in the region of the East, *full opposite the garden of delight*. And there he dwelt for eighteen years and two months; and after that Adam approached his wife Eva, and she conceived and bore two sons, Anlojs<sup>2</sup> (*i.e.*, without light), who is called Cain, and Barekhooh<sup>3</sup> (*i.e.*, well-minded), who is called Habel. (Ch. ii.) But subsequently, while Adam and his wife were sleeping, Eva saw a dream. Then Eva awoke Adam, and told the dream to Adam, and said as follows :—“ My lord, I saw in a dream by night, that blood of our son Abel was poured<sup>4</sup> into the mouth of Cain, his brother, and he drank the blood of his brother. But Habel prayed him to leave him a little of his blood. But he hearkened not unto him, but instantly drank

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<sup>1</sup> The Greek Codices have not only the title as translated in the Arm., but also this previous one : διηγησις καὶ πολιτεία Ἀδὰμ καὶ Ἐβας τῶν πρωτοπλάστων ἀποκαλυφθεῖσα παρὰ θεοῦ Μωυσῇ τῷ θεράποντι αὐτοῦ ὅτε τὰς πλάκας τοῦ νόμου τῆς διαθήκης ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου ἐδέξατο, διδασκείας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ.

<sup>2</sup> Tisch. has διάφωτον. Ceriani, ἀδιάφωτον, which answers to the Arm.

<sup>3</sup> The Grk. has Ἀμιλαβές.

<sup>4</sup> “ Filled.” The Grk. has βαλλόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα.

it all ; and there remained no other blood in his stomach, but he vomited it all out." When Adam heard this he said unto her :—" Arise, and let us go to see our children and learn what hath happened unto them, lest the enemy be warring against them. (Ch. iii.) And they went and found that Habel had been slain by the hands of his brother Cain. And God said to the archangel Michael : "Go and say unto Adam : The mystery of the dream which thou didst see, tell it not to thy son Cain. For he is a son of destruction.<sup>1</sup> And say to Adam : 'But do thou not sorrow, for I will give to thee another son in his place, who shall tell unto thee all that thou art about to do.'" And all this the archangel Michael by the behest of God said to Adam. But Adam kept all that was said in his heart. Likewise also his wife. But Eva continually sorrowed in her soul for their son Habel.

(Ch. iv.) But after that Adam again approached his wife Eva and she conceived and bore Seth. And Adam said to Eva : "Lo, we have begotten a son in place of Habel, whom Cain slew. Let us then arise and give glory and praise to God." (Ch. v.) And there came to be sons of Adam in number thirty,<sup>2</sup> and the length of his life which he lived on the earth was 930 years. And after that it happened unto him to fall sick. And Adam called with a loud voice and said : "Let there be summoned all my sons together before me, that I may behold them before I die." And they were all gathered together, for they were living apart each by himself in his own place.<sup>3</sup> Then said Seth his son unto Adam : "O my father, what is thy sickness and injury?" And he made answer and said unto him :

"Woes many and inextricable hem me round, O my child." (Ch. vi.) Seth said unto him : "O my father, surely thou art bringing to mind *the delight and the enjoyment* of the garden of God, and the diverse variety of fruits of which thou didst daily eat? And because of that sorrow of thine is thy sickness. Should this be so? O my sire, tell me, and I will go and bring to thee of the fruit of the garden of life. For I will go and will place dust<sup>4</sup> on my head, and will lament *before it*, and will beseech the Lord God ; and the Lord heareth the voice of the prayer of his servant, and sendeth his angels, and will fulfil my desire ; and I will bring unto thee *of the fruit of the garden of life (to be) thy food*, that, *tasting of it*, thou mayest be made whole of thy sickness." Adam said unto him : "It cannot be so, my child Seth, but many sicknesses and woes *without escape* beset me."

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<sup>1</sup> Grk. : ὁργῆς νόος.

<sup>2</sup> Grk. adds "and daughters thirty."

<sup>3</sup> "And they . . . place"]. Grk. has ἦν γὰρ οἰκισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ εἰς τρία μέρη.

<sup>4</sup> In Grk. : "dung."

Said Seth unto him : " And how<sup>1</sup> came there to be woes unto thy sickness ? Tell me, father mine." (Ch. vii.) Adam saith unto him : "*Hear me, my child, with patience.* When God created me and thy mother Eva, because of whom I am dying, he also gave me a command to taste of and enjoy all the fruits of the garden, but of one tree he commanded me not to taste thereof. *And he saith to me : 'If ye eat of the same with death shall ye die'*"<sup>2</sup> ; and that time was near when angels looked to your mother Eva for her to render homage before God. And when the angels had departed afar from her, then the enemy, *understanding that I am not near at hand, nor yet the angels*,<sup>3</sup> came and conversed with her, and gave her of the fruit, and she did eat of it, and came and gave unto me, and I did eat. (Ch. viii.) And<sup>4</sup> then God was angry with us, and at the same hour he came into the garden ; and the Lord spake to me with a terrible voice and said : " Adam, where art thou ? Why hidest thou thyself from my face ? For a house cannot be hidden from its builder.<sup>5</sup> But forasmuch as ye have transgressed my command and have not kept my edict, so therefore will I bring upon thy flesh persecutions and many woes, as it were seventy in number.<sup>6</sup> And the first of ills which shall smite thee will be an affliction of the eyes. But the second blow will fall on thine ears ; and thus, one by one, there shall be woes and strokes that befall all thy members." (Ch. ix.) And when Adam had said all this to his sons, he drew a deep sigh, and said : " What shall I do, for (in) great sorrow is my soul ? "

But Eva wept bitterly, and said to Adam : " My lord, rise up, and the half of the woes of thy soul thou shalt give to me, and I will bear them. Because on my account did this come upon thee, and by reason of me wilt thou be in toil."<sup>7</sup> And Adam said unto her :

<sup>1</sup> This answers to *πῶς σοι*, read in Tisch. ; *ποσοι* is read by Ceriani's MS. D.

<sup>2</sup> In place of the words italicised, the Grk. has simply : *δι' οὗ καὶ ἀποθνήσκωμεν*, which, however, MS. C omits. Cp. Protevang., c. xiii., p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> In place of the words italicised, the Grk. has *καὶ ἡῤεν αὐτὴν μόνον* ; but adds equivalent words : *ἐγνωκῶς ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι ἐγγιστα αὐτῆς οὔτε οἱ ἄγιοι ἄγγελοι* later in the sentence after the clause : " She did eat of it."

<sup>4</sup> The Grk. codd., except D, prefix : *ὅτε δὲ ἐφάγομεν ἀμφοτέρω*.

<sup>5</sup> D omits this clause : " For a house," etc., and adds instead these words : " Did I not tell thee not to eat of the tree ? And I said to the Lord : The woman, whom thou gavest me, she gave me from the tree, and I did eat. And the Lord said to me."

<sup>6</sup> Ceriani's MS. D reads, " seventy-two." The rest, " seventy."

<sup>7</sup> The Grk. MS. D adds : " Through me in the sweat of thy brow thou eatest thy bread ; through me thou sufferest all things." The other Grk. codd. omit.

"Do thou arise, and thy son Seth, and do ye go near to the garden and cast dust upon your heads and lament exceedingly with tears, and beseech God if he will perhaps have pity on me and send his angels into the garden of delight, and give unto me of the fruit from which proceedeth the anointing *of pity*;<sup>1</sup> and ye shall anoint my person therewith in order that I may, perhaps, be healed of my woes." (Ch. x.) But they arose and went opposite to the garden; and when they came into the road,<sup>2</sup> then Eva looked and beheld her son Seth, that a wild beast fought with him. And Eva wept bitterly, and cried: "Woe to me, woe to me, woe to me! For if it be unto me to come unto the day of resurrection, all sinners of my progeny will come to curse me, and will say: [*Cursed be Eva, for*] she has not kept safe the observance of the Lord her God, [*and because of this we shall all die with death.*" And having looked] she said to the beast: "O evil beast, art thou not afraid to wage war against the image of God?" (Ch. xi.) Then that wild beast called out and said: "O thou woman, 'tis not from us that there was a beginning of greed (*πλεονεξία*),<sup>3</sup> but from thee. For from thee was the beginning [*of the loosing*] of wild beasts. For when thy mouth was opened to eat of the fruit of the tree, of which God commanded you not to eat of the same, and thou didst eat and transgress the commandment of God, then our nature changed into disobedience to men. And now therefore [*bandy not words with me, but hold thy peace, for*] thou canst not bear it if I begin to chide thee." (Ch. xii.) But Seth said to the beast: "Shut thy mouth and be silent, and hold off from the image of God until the day of judgment." Then said that wild beast to Seth: "Behold, I stand aloof from the image of God, and I go to my dwelling place." (Ch. xiii.) But Seth and his mother Eva having got quit of the wild beast, came nigh to the garden of the Lord, and they wept and lamented, and prayed the Lord to send his angels and give unto them the anointing of pity.<sup>4</sup> And the Lord sent the archangel Michael and said to Seth: "Man of God, weary not thyself concerning this quest of thine, about the tree in which flows the oil of compassion, that thou mayest anoint with it thy father Adam. For in the present this shall not be; but going thou shalt behold thy father end his earthly (or temporal) life. And his time is at hand. For after three days he will pass away (lit. exchange), and

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<sup>1</sup> So τοῦ ἐλείους has dropped out of all the Greek codd. after τὸ ἐλαίου (for which, however, B has ἐλεος). The sending of Seth for the oil of pity is also told in the Descensus Christi ad Inferos (*Evangel. Apocryph.*, p. 303).

<sup>2</sup> MS. D omits this clause.

<sup>3</sup> The Grk. adds, "and of wailing."

<sup>4</sup> Ceriani's D has τὸ ἐλεος τοῦ ἐλαίου.



thou shalt behold his translation (lit. change to above), glorious and terrible."<sup>1</sup> When the angel of the Lord had said this, he ascended from them *into Heaven*. (Ch. xiv.) But Seth and his mother came and returned<sup>2</sup> to where Adam was placed and lay in sickness. And Adam said to Eva: "O Eva, what hast thou done unto me, because thou hast brought upon me wrath exceeding, which<sup>3</sup> also shall be inherited by all the race of my offspring." What answer doth she give and make to him? "Woe unto me, woe unto me, woe unto me, because I was deceived, obeying the deceitful words of the serpent." And when Eva had said this, they began to weep and lament bitterly. And when they ceased from their lamentation, an awful sorrow overcame<sup>4</sup> Adam. But his sons along with Eva sat around the bed of their father and wept exceedingly. (Ch. xv.) Said to them their mother Eva: "Children, so your father dies, and I with him; and now, my children, give ear unto me, and I will relate to you the envy . . . of the adversary, by what crafty means he robbed us of the garden of delight and of eternal life." And she began to say as follows: "*God, who loveth man and is merciful, fashioned me and your father Adam; and placed us in the garden of delight, to govern and rule over all things which grew therein. But from one tree he commanded us to abstain from the same; the which Satan beheld, (to wit) our glory and honour; and having found the serpent the wisest animal of all which are on the whole earth, (Ch. xvi.) he approached him and said to him:* 'I behold thee wiser than all animals, and I desire<sup>6</sup> to reveal

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<sup>1</sup> The Greek has: "Do thou again go to thy father, since the measure of his life is fulfilled. And as his soul goes forth, thou art about to behold his ascent (*ἀνοδόν*) all terrible." <sup>2</sup> Grk.: "returned to the tent where."

<sup>3</sup> The rest of this chapter is much briefer in the Greek, as follows: "which is death, dominating all our race. And he saith to her: 'Summon all our children and our children's children, and inform them of the mode of our transgression.'"

<sup>4</sup> The Armenian Text is not quite intelligible here.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of the passage in italics the Greek Texts read in the following sense: "And it happened, as we were guarding the paradise, each of us kept the portion assigned him by God. But I guarded in my portion the south and west. But the devil went into the portion of Adam, where were the male beasts. For God divided them for us, and apportioned the males to your father, but the females to me. And each of us watched. And the devil spake to the serpent and said: Rise up and come to me. And he arose and went to him. And the devil said to him."

<sup>6</sup> The Greek Text of Ceriani (D) has "And I associate with thee. Why dost thou eat of the tares of Adam and not of the garden? Arise, and we will cause him to be expelled from the garden, as we also were expelled through him. The serpent said," etc.

unto thee the thought which is in my heart and to unite (with) thee. Thou seest how much worth God has bestowed on the man. But we have been dishonoured ; so hearken unto me and come, let us go and drive him out of the garden, out of which we have been driven because of him.' The serpent saith unto him : ' I fear to do this thing, lest the Lord be wrath with me.' Satan said to him : ' Fear not concerning this, but do thou only become a vessel unto me, and I will deceive them by thy mouth in order to ensnare them.' (Ch. xvii.) And instantly the serpent hung himself from and lay along the wall of the garden ; and when the angels went forth to do homage, then Satan having taken the form of an angel, sang the songs of praise. And I looked and saw him there on the wall in the form of an angel. And he spake and said to me : ' Art thou Eva ? ' And I say to him, ' Yes, I may be.' And he saith to me, ' What mayest thou be doing in yonder garden of thine ? ' And I say to him, ' God placed me here.' And he saith to me, ' And how (is it that) God commanded thee not to eat of all the trees which are in this garden of thine ? ' And I say to him, ' 'Tis not so ; but we eat of all, except of a single tree which is in the middle of the garden, which God commanded us not to eat of the same ; saying unto us : " If ye eat of the same, with death shall ye die." ' (Ch. xviii.) Then saith the serpent unto me : ' As God is alive, my soul hath exceeding sorrow because of thee,<sup>1</sup> and I desire not thy ignorance. But take and eat of yonder fruit ; and then forthwith shalt thou know the honour of that tree.' And I say unto him, ' I fear lest the Lord be wroth with me, even as he commanded us.' And he saith unto her (*sic*), ' Fear not, for when thou shalt eat of the same, thine eyes shall be opened unto a knowledge of good and evil.<sup>2</sup> For the Lord knew that whenever ye shall eat, ye shall become like God to know good and evil. And being jealous of you because thereof, he forbade you to eat of the same. And now do thou take and eat of the fruit, and thou shalt behold the highest glory.' (Ch. xix.) And when I heard these words spoken by him, I opened the door of the garden and entered into the garden of delight ; for I was without when the serpent spake unto me. But he went in after me and said to me, ' Come after me, and I will give to thee of the fruit.' And he began

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<sup>1</sup> The Grk. has : " God placed us here to guard and eat out of it. The devil answered by the mouth of the serpent : Ye do well, but ye do not eat of all that grows. And I said : We eat of all, save of one tree only, which is in the middle of the garden," etc.

<sup>2</sup> The Grk. adds : " because ye are as cattle."

<sup>3</sup> The Grk. has : " thine eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods knowing good and evil."

to walk before me, and I after him. And when we had gone a little way, he turned back and said to me craftily : ' I will not give thee of yonder fruit to eat, unless thou swear unto me, that when thou eatest it, thou wilt give also to thy husband to eat of the same.' And not understanding his crafty language of deceit, I further say to him, ' I know not how I may swear to thee, but whatsoever I know I will say. And now then I swear to thee on the throne of the Lord and on the Cherubin *which bear it up and hold it*, and on the tree of life, that when I shall have eaten, I will give also to my husband, even as thou tellest me to swear.' When he heard the oath which I sware unto him, he came instantly and drew nigh unto the tree, and took and gave to me of the fruit forthwith ; the offspring of his wickedness,<sup>1</sup> that is to say of desire. For desire is the leader in all sin. And he took hold of the bough of the tree of knowledge, and bent it down to the earth, and I took and eat of the fruit thereof. (Ch. xx.) And at once my eyes were opened, and I knew that I was naked of the righteousness with which I had clad myself. And I wept bitterly, and I said unto the serpent : ' Why hast thou done this thing, offspring of wickedness, and why hast thou deceived me and deprived me of my glory ? ' I also wept much, because of the oath which I had sworn unto him. But he, when he heard this, at once went down from the tree and disappeared ! And I sought on my part for leaves in order to cover my shame, and I found them not. For there rested not upon my body the leaf of any of the trees<sup>2</sup> except of the fig-tree only. And I took thereof and girdled myself and hid the nakedness of my body. (Ch. xxi.) And I cry out to your father, and say : ' Adam, where art thou. Arise and come unto me, and I will shew thee wonderful things.'<sup>3</sup> And when your father cometh to me, I repeat to him the words of lawlessness, which drove us out of our glory. And I opened my lips, because Satan gave unto me to speak *the words of blasphemy and of contumacy*. And I say unto him : ' Come, my lord Adam, hearken unto my words, and eat of the fruit of the tree of which the Lord commanded us that we should not eat of the same, and thou shalt become God.'<sup>4</sup> Your father made answer unto me and said : ' I fear lest God be angry with me.' And I say unto him : ' Fear not, for when thou shalt eat it, it shall be thine to know good and evil.' And he hearkened to my words of temptation, and tasted of the fruit, and at once his eyes were

<sup>1</sup> The Grk. has : " the poison of his wickedness."

<sup>2</sup> The Grk. adds τοῦ ἐμοῦ μέρους.

<sup>3</sup> In the Grk. : " a great mystery."

<sup>4</sup> In the Grk. : " become as a god."

opened, and he knew the nakedness of his person. And he said to me : ' O thou woman, why hast thou done this thing unto me, and hast deprived me of the glory of God ? ' (Ch. xxii.) And in that hour we heard the voice of Michael the archangel, sounding his trumpet and saying to all the angels : ' Thus saith the Lord of Hosts : " Come ye all, and go down with me into the garden, and hear the judgment with which I shall *will to* judge Adam." ' And when we heard the sound of the trumpet of the archangel Michael and the words which he spake, we say one to the other : ' Behold the Lord is about to come into this garden in order to judge us,' and we were afraid, and hid ourselves. And the Lord God came into the garden sitting upon a chariot of Cherubin, and all the angels gave praise before him. And when he entered into the garden all the plants which are in the garden instantly blossomed and burgeoned, all<sup>1</sup> which were around Adam ; likewise, also, those which were around me. And the throne of the God-head was set at the tree of life. (Ch. xxiii.) And the Lord God cried aloud to thy father Adam and said : ' Adam, where art thou hidden ? Dost thou think thyself hidden from my all-seeing eyes, that I should not find thee ? For the house is not hidden from him that builded it.' Then thy father made answer to him and said : ' My Lord, 'tis not that we hide from thee,<sup>2</sup> but we are naked, and we thought thou wouldst not find us. But we fear thee, for we are naked.' And God said unto him : ' And who taught thee that thou wast naked (except) that thou hast transgressed my commandment which I gave thee and hast not kept it ? ' Then thy father pondered my word which I said unto him,<sup>3</sup> that I will preserve thee without fear before God. He turned to me and said : ' Why hast thou done this thing ? ' And<sup>4</sup> I say unto him : ' Lord, the serpent deceived me.' (Ch. xxiv.) Then the Lord God said to thy father Adam : ' Forasmuch as thou hast done this, and hast not kept my commandment, but hast listened to the voice of thy wife, the earth shall be cursed in thy works. For thou shalt work it, and it shall not give thee its strength ; but thorns and thistles shall it bring forth for thee, and by the sweat of thy brows thou shalt eat thy bread.'<sup>5</sup> And turning to

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<sup>1</sup> The Grk. has : " both those of the portion of Adam and of my portion also."

<sup>2</sup> The Grk. has : " We hide as thinking that we are not found by thee, but we fear, because we are naked," etc.

<sup>3</sup> The Grk. adds : " when I wished to deceive him."

<sup>4</sup> In the Grk. : " And I remembered the word of the serpent, and said that the serpent deceived me."

<sup>5</sup> The Grk. adds a long gloss here, which is not in the Armenian, as follows : " and shalt be in many sorts of labour ; thou shalt weary and not win

the serpent, he said unto him : ' Forasmuch as thou hast done this thing, and hast become the vessel of shame, and hast deceived the upright<sup>1</sup> in heart, cursed shalt thou be among all brutes and dumb animals, and thou shalt be deprived of thy food, whence thou didst eat, and shalt eat dust all the days of thy life. Upon thy navel and thy belly shalt thou go, and shalt be deprived of thy hands and thy feet ; and there shall not be left to thee an ear, nor wings, nor any of thy other members for thee to have,<sup>2</sup> forasmuch as by thine evil devices thou hast worsted and deceived these beings, and hast caused them to be expelled from the garden of delight. And I will place enmity between thee and this woman, between thy seed and hers ; they shall serve thy head, and thou shalt serve the sole of their foot until the day of judgment.' (Ch. xxv.) And the Lord turned and said to me<sup>3</sup> : ' Forasmuch as thou hast listened to this serpent, despising my commandment, thou shalt be in empty pangs and pangs that cannot be alleviated. Thou shalt bear many children in sorrow, and<sup>4</sup> in thy labours thou shalt be straitened, and in thy life and in thy distress thou shalt make confession, and shalt say : " O Lord God, save me in this present, and henceforth I will not turn me to the same sinning in my flesh."'<sup>5</sup>

(Two lines undecipherable) . . . . .  
 . . . . . Concerning the enmities which the enemy hath sown in thee. And there thy turning shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.' (Ch. xxvii.) And thereafter the Lord gave a command to his holy angels to drive us out of the garden of delight. And when they had driven and led us out, we lamented much and wept bitterly. And your father Adam saith to me : ' Grant me a little respite, that I may pray to God who loveth man, in order that he may perhaps have compassion on me, for I

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rest, be pressed hard by bitterness and not taste of sweetness, be oppressed by heat and straitened by cold. And thou shalt weary much, and not be rich, and shalt grow fat, but not reach thine end, and those beasts which thou ruledst shall rise up against thee and rebel, because thou hast not kept my commandment."

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς παρειμένους.

<sup>2</sup> In the Grk. : ἐν ᾗ κακίᾳ σου.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek Text puts this address to Eve before that made to the serpent, transposing chs. xxv. and xxvi.

<sup>4</sup> The Grk. continues : " and in one hour thou shalt come and destroy thy life because of thy great necessity and pains. And thou shalt confess," etc.

<sup>5</sup> Two lines are illegible in the Armenian. The Grk. continues : " And therefore I will judge thee by thy words, because of the hatred which the enemy put in thee," etc.

alone sinned.' And the angels granted him a little respite from driving us out; and Adam called out with a loud voice, and said, lamenting: 'Remit unto me, Lord, my transgressions, whatsoever I have done.' Then said the Lord to his angels: 'Wherefore have ye given them respite, and expel them not from the garden? Did I not of myself make (them)?<sup>1</sup> or have I judged them unjustly?' But the angels fell on their faces, and said: 'Just art thou, Lord; and righteous are thy judgments.' (Ch. xxviii.) And the Lord turned to Adam and said to him: 'I will not permit thee now and henceforth to be there in the garden.' And Adam made answer and said to the Lord: 'O my Lord and my God, I pray thee bestow on me of the tree of life, that I may eat thereof before I go forth from the garden of life.' God again spake with Adam, and said: 'In this present thou shalt not receive of the same, for we have enjoined on the cherubim with the flaming sword to guard the path, unto the end that thou mayest not taste thereof and abide deathless for ever. But there shall be unto thee<sup>2</sup> thy war, which the enemy has sown for thee. But when thou shalt remove thyself from the garden and keep thyself from all wickedness, and bear in mind death;<sup>3</sup> after thine ending, in the coming of the resurrection, I will raise thee up, and then I will give to thee of the fruit of life and thou shalt abide deathless for ever.' (Ch. xxix.) And the Lord, having said this, commanded the angels to drive us out of the garden. And then your father Adam wept bitterly in the garden before the angels. And the angels say unto him: 'What wilt thou that we do to thee, Adam?' Adam made answer to the angels: 'I know that ye now drive me forth, but suffer me to take some fragrant thing from the garden, in order that when I shall be outside it, and am offering oblations to God, the Lord may listen unto my prayers.' (Ch. xxx.) But the angels approached the Lord, and said: 'Hojili Hojil,'<sup>4</sup> *which is translated* King eternal. And he bade be given to Adam incense of sweet odour (εὐωδίας) from the garden. And the Lord God bade that Adam be brought before him, that he might receive the incense of sweet odour and the seeds of his food, giving leave unto his angels. And Adam came before the Lord. And the Lord God bade there be given to him four things, which are the following: crocus, which is saffron; and nard, which is phajla-

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<sup>1</sup> The Grk.—"Surely the transgression is not mine?"

<sup>2</sup> "Thou shalt have the war," etc.

<sup>3</sup> In Grk.: "As wishing to die [but Codex C 'as about to die'], then when the resurrection again comes I will raise thee up, and then shall be given thee of the tree of life," etc.

<sup>4</sup> In the Grk.: "Ἱαὐλὸν αἰῶνι βασιλεῦ."

seni;<sup>1</sup> and calamus, which is a reed; and cinnamon, which is daraseni;<sup>1</sup> and many other seeds among those things which we eat. And when he had received all these, we went forth from the garden, and we beheld ourselves placed in this earth. (Ch. xxxi.) And now, my children, I have discoursed to you about everything, and concerning the chicanery of the enemy (*and how, that by his deceit, he . . . us*). But do ye forthwith be on your guard, lest ye also forfeit the glory of God." (Ch. xxxii.) And all this did Eva relate to her sons; and Adam lay before them much afflicted in his sickness.<sup>2</sup> *But Eva and her sons began to weep and lament.*

*And when they were silent there arose Adam from his sleep.* And Eva said unto him: "Wherefore dost *thou* die and I remain alive, my lord? Or for how long a time do I (wait to) come after thine ending? Acquaint me *with the truth*." Said Adam unto Eve: "It is not any concern of thine (lit. for thee) to ask concerning this, because thou wilt (? not) delay to follow after me, but alike we shall die together, and they will place thee near to me in the same spot. But when I shall die cover me<sup>3</sup>; and suffer not any one of thy sons to behold<sup>4</sup> me, until the angel shall ordain what is to be done concerning me. For God neglects me not, but seeks out the vessels which he fashioned. Now, therefore, arise and remain in prayer until there shall pass forth my spirit from my body this day into the hand of *my Lord* who gave it unto me. *Oh*, for I know not, how I<sup>5</sup> shall meet my Creator, lest haply he be wroth concerning me, or on the contrary he may have pity on me in his compassion." Then Eva arose and went without, and fell on her face on the earth, and wept and lamented bitterly, and spake as follows: "I have sinned against thee, O God; I have sinned against thee, Father of all; I have sinned against thee, O Lord; I have sinned also against thy angels!<sup>6</sup> *I have sinned against thee, Lover of mankind*; I have sinned against thee and thy cherubim; I have sinned against thee, Lord, and against thy immoveable throne; I have sinned against thee, Lord; *I have sinned against the holiness of thy saints*; I have sinned against thee, Lord, I have sinned unto heaven and before thee, O Lord. For sin and transgressions have from me originated in the world." And as she offered up this prayer, the angel of the Lord came unto her in a human shape

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<sup>1</sup> The homonyms added are, perhaps, Arabic. The Greek Text has not them.

<sup>2</sup> The Grk. adds: "but he had one more day before he quitted his body."

<sup>3</sup> The Cod. A has *καλύψετε*, but B C *καταλύσετε*.

<sup>4</sup> In the Grk.: "to touch me."

<sup>5</sup> In the Grk.: "how *we*."

<sup>6</sup> In Grk.: "Thy chosen angels."

(*εἶδος*),<sup>1</sup> and having aroused her *from sleep*, said to her: "Stand strong, thou woman, in thy adoration."<sup>2</sup> For behold Adam, thy husband, has passed away from his flesh. And do thou look and behold his spirit ascending unto heaven to his Maker to be before him." (Ch. xxxiii.) But Eva having arisen cleansed with her hands her face<sup>3</sup> *from her excessive tears*; *for her eyes were swollen with weeping*. And having raised her eyes to heaven, she beholds a fiery chariot raised aloft by four fiery beasts,<sup>4</sup> and the tongue of man is too weak to tell forth the sheen of their glory. And they bore his spirit to the place wherein (?) is Adam in the flesh. And angels went before the chariot. But when they came nigh to that place, the chariot stopped along with the cherubin and Adam upon it; she beheld also censers of gold and three canopies, and angels went with fragrant incense taking the censers, and came in haste into the holy tabernacle, and kindling fire they cast the incense into the censers, and the smoke of the incense so went forth as to overshadow the firmament of heaven. And the angels prostrated themselves in adoration before God, crying all of them aloud and saying: "*Eliájil, which is being translated Lord, king of eternity*, vouchsafe remission to Adam, for he is thine image and the work of thy spotless hands." (Ch. xxxiv.) Eva beheld yet other<sup>5</sup> marvels before God. And Eva wept bitterly. And Eva turned and spake, and said to Seth her son: "My child, stand firm over the body<sup>6</sup> of thy father, and come to me and see what no one hath seen with his eyes. And behold how all the angels beseech the Lord concerning thy father Adam." (Ch. xxxv.) But Seth arose and went to his mother, and said unto her: "Why weepest thou, mother mine?" His mother made answer to him and said to him: "Do thou look up and see with thine eyes the firmament of heaven opened,<sup>7</sup> and the

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<sup>1</sup> In the Grk.: "Lo there came to her the angel of humanity (*τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος*)."

<sup>2</sup> In the Grk.: "Rise up from thy repentance."

<sup>3</sup> In Grk. simply: "laid her hand on her face."

<sup>4</sup> The Grk. has: "A chariot of light moved on by four bright eagles, of which no one born of the womb could tell the glory nor behold their countenance, and angels preceding the chariot. When they came to the place where lay your father Adam, the chariot halted, and the seraphim were between your father and the chariot. And I saw gold censers and three cups; and lo, all the angels with frankincense and with censers and the cups (or vials) came to the altar and blew them, and the vapour of the incense hid the firmaments," etc.

<sup>5</sup> In Grk.: "yet two other mysteries before God."

<sup>6</sup> In Grk.: "rise up from the body."

<sup>7</sup> In Grk.: "behold the seven firmaments opened, and see with thine eyes how the body of thy father lies on its face, and all the holy angels with it, praying for it and saying."



soul of thy father, how he falls down before God on his face, and all the angels beseech the Lord in his behalf, thus saying : ' Vouchsafe, O Lord, remission unto Adam, *thou who art God long-suffering and art Lord of all.* For he is thine image.' Therefore, O my child Seth, what<sup>1</sup> shall come unto me, when I shall stand before the unseen God. And who then may be yonder two men, the Ethiops, who stand before God, beseeching the Lord for thy father Adam?" (Ch. xxxvi.) Seth said unto her : "O my mother, yonder two men whom thou beholdest are the sun and the moon, who stand and beseech God, falling upon their faces, concerning my father Adam." And Eva saith unto him : "And where may be their light? How darkened do they appear!" Seth made answer and said : "'Tis not because their light is laid aside from them, but their light appeareth not before the father of light.<sup>2</sup> *Because their shen is clouded over by glory and by the mighty sheen of the face of the futher of light.*" (Ch. xxxvii.) And as Seth spake this word unto his mother Eva, on a sudden one of the archangels blew his trumpet, and instantly all the angels arose, who were fallen on their faces before God. And they called out with a loud uproar and with terrible voice : "Blessed is the glory of the Lord by his creatures. For that he hath taken pity on those that were fashioned by his hands, upon Adam." And when the angels had cried out this aloud, there came one of the six-winged cherubin and caught up Adam and bore him into a sea not made with hands, and washed him three times.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In Grk. : "What shall be this? and when shall it be given over into the hands of the unseen father and of our God? But who are the two Ethiops," etc.

<sup>2</sup> In Grk. : "before the light of the whole, the father of lights, and therefore is their light hidden and lost."

<sup>3</sup> In Grk. : "ἤρπασεν τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ ἀπήγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀχέρουσιαν λίμνην καὶ ἀπέλουσεν αὐτὸν τρίτον." So Ceriani's codex D; but Tischendorf reads : ἤρπασεν τὸν Ἀδάμ εἰς τὴν ἀχέρουσαν λίμνην καὶ ἀπέπλυνεν αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον θεοῦ, and on ἀχέρουσαν he has this note : Ita coniecimus scribendum esse pro γερουσιᾶς, quod in codice esse dicitur. Poterat enim scribi ἀχέρουσιᾶδα. Illud vero similiter in Apocalypsi Pauli legitur, ubi sect. 22 est : ὅταν δὲ μετανοήσῃ καὶ μεταστᾶθῃ τοῦ βίου, παραδίδοται τῷ Μιχαήλ, καὶ βάλλουσιν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀχέρουσαν λίμνην. In the same section of the *Apoc. Pauli* we read that ἡ ἀχέρουσα λίμνη was in the land of the gentle ones who inherit the earth, in a region where the souls of the just are kept. Its waters were brighter than gold and silver, and none might enter it, except after repentance of their sins. The Syriac version of the *Apoc. Pauli* renders it "the sea of Eucharista." In § 31 of the same Apocryph the phrase recurs ἔξω τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἀχερούσης λίμνης καὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς ἀγαθῆς

And again he brought and placed him before God ; and he spent three hours, fallen on his face on the earth. But after this he stretched forth his hand, who is lord of all, he that sat on his throne. And having taken Adam, he gave him into the hand of Michael the archangel, saying to him : "Bear him unto the second heaven<sup>1</sup> and let him repose until the day of the great renewal, which I will bring (as) salvation in the midst of the earth, *because of Adam and all his children.*" Then Michael the archangel took Adam and they bore him and gave him repose in the place where the Lord commanded him. And all the angels sang a strain of praise and the songs of angels. They marvelled at God's love of man, and at the acceptable pardon of Adam. But after so much rejoicing, which there was concerning Adam, Michael the archangel spake unto the father *of light concerning Adam*, and said to him : "Lord, let all the angels be gathered together before God, each according to his order." And they were all gathered together, some having censers in their hands and others harps and trumpets.<sup>2</sup> And behold the Lord ascended in glory upon the four winds, and the cherubim took hold of and held the winds. And angels came down from heaven and went before him, all of them, and descended unto the earth, at the spot in which was lying the body of Adam. And having come thither, the Lord entered into the garden with the heavenly hosts. Then the plants and fruit-bearing trees all blossomed forth together, and there breathed forth a sweet odour, so that all who were born of Adam, were stupefied and fell into a deep sleep, from the odour wafted to them from the bloom and blossom of the garden. But Seth alone was not stupefied : *for the Lord wished to shew unto him the wonders which he was about to work.* But the Lord God<sup>3</sup> having looked, beheld the body of Adam lying just as it was on the earth. He was much distressed *in his love of man*, and he said : "O Adam, wherefore hast thou done this, for if thou hadst kept my commandment, which I gave to thee, they would not be rejoicing who have brought thee into yonder place of thine ? But now I say to thee, *that when my salvation shall be manifested to the world*, I will turn their rejoicing into sorrow ; but thy sorrow I will turn into rejoicing. For I will restore thee unto thy primal glory,<sup>4</sup> and seat thee on a throne of thy

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<sup>1</sup> In the Grk. : "Lift him up into the paradise as far as the third heaven, and leave him there till that great day and terrible of my economy, which I will bring about in the world."

<sup>2</sup> In the Grk. : "and others trumpets and vials."

<sup>3</sup> According to Tischendorf's Text *Seth* was "distressed." In all the Grk. MSS., however, there is some flaw here.

<sup>4</sup> In Grk. : "will restore thee to thine empire."

deceiver. And he shall come to that place, wherein thou art now lying, and he shall behold thee become higher than himself. And then he himself shall be judged and all his worshippers. *And I send him into the gehenna of fire.* And he shall be much affrighted and will sorrow, beholding thee sitting on his throne." (Ch. xl.) And when God had spoken these words to Adam, the archangel Michael again said<sup>1</sup> : "Come to the kingdom, which is in the second heaven, and thou shalt take there three linen robes, white and purple, and shalt bring them hither." And he went and fulfilled that which was commanded of the Lord. And God commanded Michael the archangel to envelop the body of Adam, saying thus : "Spread ye out those fine linen cloths of yours and envelop him, and bring ye of the oil of anointing, of fragrant smell, and scatter it over him." And the archangels Michael and Uriel did as the Lord commanded them. And when they had enfolded the body of Adam, God commanded them to bring the body of Abel the just. And they bore and laid it before God. And God commanded them to bear in like manner linen cloths, and envelop the body of Abel the just ; because his body was not wrapped up by anyone, from the day on upon which Cain slew his brother. For Cain himself was desirous to keep it,<sup>2</sup> but was not able ; for that the earth would not receive his body.

But there was a voice of summoning from the earth to Cain saying : "I am not willing to receive the body of the first-formed, which they received from me." And the angel having taken the body of Abel, they placed it on a stone, until they had buried the body of Adam. But the Lord God commanded the angels to lift up his body and carry it into the region of the garden unto that place in which the Lord had taken clay (or dust) and fashioned Adam. And he commanded that they should cleave the earth asunder and bury them together. And the Lord gave command to seven holy archangels to come and bring forth from the kingdom many odours. And the archangels came and brought them, even as the Lord commanded. And they laid the fragrant (spices) in the place in which he commanded them

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Grk. ch. xl. begins thus : "After this God said to the archangel Michael : Strew linen clothes and cover the body of Adam ; and bring ye oil of the oil of fragrance and pour it out on it. And the three great angels tended him. And when they had finished tending Adam, God bade the body of Abel also to be brought."

<sup>2</sup> In the Grk. : "Cain often wished to hide it, but could not. For his body would leap up from the ground and a voice issued from the earth, saying, A second creation shall not be hidden in the earth, until there be given up to me the first creation which was taken from me, the dust (of me) from whom it was taken."

to set down their bodies. And then they took the body of the twain and laid them in the place in which they had cloven asunder the sepulchre; and they covered it over with clay (or dust). (Ch. xli.) And the Lord God cried out to the body of Adam and said: "Adam, Adam." But he uttered a cry, saying<sup>1</sup>: "Lo, here am I, Lord." And the Lord said: "Aforetime I said unto thee that dust thou wast and to dust shouldst thou return. But mightily<sup>2</sup> do I give thee good tidings of my power and unto all nations of the sons of men, who are of thy children." (Ch. xlii.) When he said this, the Lord God made a sign (or monument)<sup>3</sup>, triangular, and with it sealed their sepulchre; that no one might come nigh thereunto for six days, until the dust return whence it was taken. And when he had completed all this our Lord ascended into heaven in glory. But Eva did not comprehend where was laid his body. She was filled with great sorrow and wept bitterly because of his death, and again because of not knowing his body, what it was become. For as we said before, all were stupefied together with Eva, in that time in which the Lord descended into the garden of delight concerning the body of Adam. And so all these marvels took place; but no one of them knew, but only Seth, their son. But after this, when the time of Eva's end came, she arose even of herself, and fell to praying with tears and said: "Lord God of all natures, Creator of creation, separate me not from the body of thy servant Adam. For thou didst even make me out of the body of Adam, and from his bones didst thou even fashion me; and I pray thee, make me worthy, who am unworthy, (and make worthy) the sinful body of thy hand-maid; that it be not separated from the body of Adam, even as aforetime I was together with him in yon garden. For though we had transgressed thy command, we were not divided from one another." And when she had finished this prayer, she looked up to heaven and smote her breast, and said: "O my Lord, and God of all, receive my spirit *in peace*." *And having said this, she slept, committing her spirit into the hands of angels.* (Ch. xliii.) But thereafter Michael the archangel along with three archangels lifted up the body of Eva, and took and buried it in the place in

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<sup>1</sup> In the Grk.: "the body answered from the earth and said."

<sup>2</sup> In the Grk.: "Again I announce to thee the resurrection. I will raise thee in the resurrection with every race of men sprung from thy seed."

<sup>3</sup> In the Grk.: "God made a seal and sealed the tomb, that no one might do aught to it in the six days, until his rib revert to him. Then the Lord and his angels proceeded unto their place. But Eve also after the fulfilling of six days fell asleep. But while she still lived, she wept bitterly because of the falling asleep of Adam."

which lay the body of Adam and of Abel the just. And thereafter Michael the archangel cried aloud to Seth and said : " Thus' shalt thou bury every man who shall die until the day of *the coming again* and of the resurrection." And having thus laid down the law, he saith to him : " On the seventh day thou shalt rest and rejoice in it. For on this day the Lord and all his angels (? said) : ' Let us rejoice with all the spirits of the just ones who may be upon the earth.' " And when Michael the archangel had said this to Seth, forthwith he ascended into heaven along with the three archangels, giving thanks unto and glorifying God. And they sang songs, saying : " Allelouiah, Allelouiah, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts*, glory to God Almighty for ever and ever."<sup>2</sup>

Lord God of thy holy archangels and angels, and of all the powers of heaven, and of the first created ones Adam and Eva, through their intercession have pity on the owner of this book, Mahdas Gregory, and his wife Selene (*lou-sin*), and his sons Thôrwand and Parsam, and on all the blood of his neighbours, and on the writer of the same, and on those who shall read and give ear to it and who say the Amen. Amen.

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<sup>1</sup> In the Grk. Michael says : " Thus bury every man who dies until the day of resurrection." And after giving him this law he said to him : " Beyond six days ye shall not mourn ; but on the seventh day rest and be joyful on it, because in it (we) God and the angels rejoice with the just soul which has passed away (*τῆς μεταστάσης*) from earth."

<sup>2</sup> The Greek ends here. The rest is an addition of the Armenian translator or scribe.

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